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THE
BALANCE SHEET
OF
TWO PARTIES.

A LEECH DELIVERED BY

JOHN HAY,

CLEVELAND OHIO JULY 31, 1886.

CLEVELAND

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1886

THERE are many reasons why it should seem an easy matter for the Republican party to carry the elections this year. The party now in control of the National administration has governed this country honestly and, on the whole, wisely for twenty years. If we look to the past, we see a record of glorious results, such as no other party can boast. The spread of slavery checked, and slavery finally abolished; the Nation saved from disunion and dismemberment; an army of a million men raised, subsisted, and finally disbanded and returning to the peaceful walks of life; the Atlantic and Pacific united by rail; the debt diminished by one thousand millions, and then refunded by a stroke of financial policy, through which one third of our interest charge was saved; resumption of specie payments accomplished, and general prosperity restored to the Nation; and all these objects attained with the most scrupulous adherence to law and constitutional precedents. Of the record of the Democratic party in the last twenty years, it is perhaps enough to say that it has consisted of savage, vindictive opposition, born of blind hate and ignorance to all these beneficent achievements of the Republicans. They strove to extend slavery, while we were trying to check it; they fought to pollute free territory which we were trying to protect from that accursed institution; they were willing to see the Nation destroyed rather than unite with us

erty lies prostrate, under the power of the shot-gun and the bull-whip. It is for this reason that every Republican of the North must this year fight two adversaries; the Democrat in Georgia or Mississippi who votes for himself and a negro or two, and the Democrat in the North who sympathizes with him. Our opponents enter this contest with 138 stolen electoral votes; votes that will not have cost them an effort of legitimate organization, nor a word of persuasion. They need not write one article; they need not make one speech; they need not spend the price of a one-cent postage stamp, nor the time necessary for one Congressman to frank an envelope. Their machinery is now so perfect that even murder, the cheapest of all political methods in the South, will hardly be necessary this year. They can even economize in powder and shot, for they have so utterly killed political life in their region that they can hardly find a pretext for shooting a Republican voter. The "kiss-joker" was after all, a life saving invention. When you can steal a State with a pocket full of tissue paper, what is the use of the scandal of murder? A few figures will show how completely the freedom of the ballot is at an end in some of the States of the South. I will take only a few counties as specimens; they gave the following votes in 1876:

	HAYES.	TILDEN.
Green County, Alabama.....	2	408
Walton County, Georgia.....	2	1,393
Wilkes County, Georgia.....	2	1,139
East Feliciana, Louisiana.....	0	1,736
Lowndes County, Mississippi.....	2	2,073
Tallahatchee County, Mississippi.....	1	1,144
Yazoo County, Mississippi.....	2	3,672
Brown County, Texas.....	1	525
Eastland County, Texas.....	3	1,787
Hidalgo County, Texas.....	4	1,629
Buchanan County, Virginia.....	2	1,330

In connection with these eloquent figures let us read a paragraph from the Democratic platform of this year. "The right to a free ballot is a right preservative of all rights, and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States." Is this a tardy repentance? There is no other symptom of it. Is it a piece of pure effrontery, the very wantonness of impudence, or is it a coarse joke, uttered with a wink and a grin, in the face of the world? Certainly no such false pretense has ever been put forth by an American party. Its falsehood is written in letters of blood in every election return which has come in recent years from the States where the Democrats have seized control of affairs.

Yet they have the assurance to call us the "sectional" party. There is an old maxim of law that no man shall take advantage of his own wrong. But here we see these people committing upon the Republicans the most savage wrong conceivable and then blaming them for the result of it. It is as if you should put out a man's eyes and then curse him for

his blindness. We are the sectional party! Judge Barnes, of Georgia, a member of the Democratic National Committee, boasted the other day in New York, that Georgia was so solid that they would have to hire a few Democrats to vote for Garfield, so as to have something to count their majority from. With a brazen and unblushing cheek he made that boast, never reflecting that where there is no difference of opinion there is no freedom, where there is no political movement there is stagnation and death. What would happen to a Northern Republican who talked like that in Georgia? The other day a Texas Republican made a little speech at a gathering of his friends. The next day prominent citizens waited upon him, and told him if he repeated the offense, "he would forget to wake up some morning." Yet Northern Democrats attack us because "we have no party in the South."

I do not wish to be mistaken. I do not mean that the Republican party is destroyed in all the Southern States. On the contrary, its vitality is still something to admire and applaud. It deserves our warm sympathy and our material aid. Even in the midst of the oppression under which they suffer, the Republicans will make in some regions a gallant fight: they will cast more votes than they did four years ago, and will wrest several seats in Congress from the bulldozers. In one or two States they will cast a majority of votes, but they frankly admit they do not expect them to be counted. This is a humiliating confession for free people to make, but truth compels it to be

made. If it were to last forever it would disgrace us all. It would be as infamous to us here in Northern Ohio as to the States where this wrong is practiced. But it will only disgrace us if we submit to it.

I think nothing is to be gained just now by attempting to investigate the origin of this monstrous state of things. The evil exists, and the question is not so much how it came about, as how it is to be remedied. It is clear that nothing is to be done by Government interference, for very good reasons. In the first place, we have no force to employ. Our over-worked and ill-treated little army is all employed on the frontier, and even if it were large enough to use for the keeping of the peace in the South, so long as the Democrats have a majority in both houses of Congress, it will be impossible, even if it were desirable, to use troops for any such purpose. So the evil must continue, for the present, without let or hindrance. Constitutional Government sometimes has these limitations. You cannot prevent frauds on the suffrage in South Carolina; you cannot prevent independent candidates from being shot in the back in Mississippi, any more than you can prevent a Texas jury from bringing in a verdict of acquittal when a lively and genial ruffian kills a Northern man. These are evils which can only be reached and cured from a distance. But our system of government is not absolutely powerless to reach them, even from a distance. The ballot is free here if it is not there. Public opinion is guided by private conscience here, at least, and if in every State of the North the merits

of this great issue are made to appear plainly, there will be an end of this barbarism, as soon as the proper constitutional process can be gone through. Many individual crimes must go forever unwhipped of justice, and even these misguided communities can only be punished at last by bringing them out of their miserable condition of violence and darkness, and making them share with us in peaceful and orderly government.

So that, finally, the remedy rests with us, with the Republicans of the North. We must, and I trust in Heaven we *shall*, win this one fight in addition to the many which have gone before it, and then, perhaps, there may be a laying off of battered armor, and a period of rest from partisan strife. But not yet can we indulge in the luxury of indifference or repose. If the cause of freedom and nationality for which so many thousands of our brethren died was worth their blood and their mother's tears, it is worth our serious efforts to-day. If there was any moral obligation resting upon good citizens in 1864 to vote for Lincoln rather than McClellan, the same obligation rests on them now to vote for Garfield and not for the candidate whose party threaten the destruction of Lincoln's work. A victory this year will confirm the results of twenty years of labor and sacrifice, and we are unworthy of our privileges if we fail to win it.

When we have won this election, the work will never again be so difficult. The Democrats sometimes accuse the Republicans of being in a conspiracy to

retain the government indefinitely. I am inclined to think there is some truth in the story, and I can name some of the parties to the conspiracy. It is a conspiracy between the multiplication table, the almanac, and the Constitution of the United States. It is based on the principle that light will conquer darkness, truth will overcome error, freedom will eternally get the better of slavery. The communities which respect the law will thrive and prosper better than those which habitually violate it. This is the year of the census; the people are being numbered. There will be results from this enumeration which will convince the wayfaring man, though he be a Democratic Congressman, that power in this country must go henceforth with honesty and justice. It will pass forever away from the habitations of cruelty and ignorance. The sceptre is to go to the great free States of the North West, where under a bountiful sky, a free, orderly, law abiding people, who labor for their living and honor their God and their country, are quietly working out their high destiny. The South will no longer have the power to control the fate of this Nation. She will hereafter have only the influence which legitimately belongs to her, and then, and only then will our politics cease to be sectional.

The South has been made solid by the hope of regaining the control of the Government through the aid of the Democrats of the North. Destroy that hope this year, and the solidity of the South cannot endure in the face of the great social and industrial changes now going on. Their politicians will learn

and the other side of the Ohio to be moved by the same
 power, and the same people, to contribute what
 power they have to the same happy enterprise, while
 the same people on the South side of the mountains
 are opposed to the same enterprise, and as useless as the
 man who is too poor and too lazy to leave his home to come and fish for gold along the
 banks of the river, and who is too stupid to see where
 the gold is, and too lazy to go and get it, and where
 the gold is, and too stupid to see where the gold is.
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have ended in 1865, we should take infinite pleasure in discussing with them subjects of more immediate interest and practical concern. But blood freshly shed will cry from the ground; and when a community is being strangled it is likely to squeal; and all these things keep the history of the rebellion continually in mind. Even if we drop these unpleasant subjects, however, and confine ourselves to the claims of the two parties to the suffrages of the country upon their economic and administrative merits, the Democratic party will fare as badly in a comparison with the Republican, as if the standard was that of loyalty.

To my mind, I admit, the greater issue so dwarfs the less, that I believe the Democratic party disqualified from regaining the confidence of the people of this country, by its unatoned crimes. Even if it contained within its ranks, which it certainly does not, better lawyers, better administrators, better statesman than we can show, I would still feel that the government should not be given into hands stained crimson with the blood of citizens. There ought to be no question of the fitness of these men. They ought to feel that they are impossible. An absurd comparison has sometimes occurred to me, though not more absurd than the effrontery of this criminal party in demanding the confidence of the Nation. You want a good man to oversee your business. A sinister-looking customer comes up and proposes himself. "What are your credentials from your last place?" you naturally ask. "Well," he

answers. "I have been out of a job for the last twenty years." "How did that happen?" "Oh! I had a first rate place, but my employer and I had a difference of opinion about the way the business ought to be run, and I tried to cut his throat. We had a fight and he kicked me out at last, but not before I had destroyed several thousand million dollars of property, and killed about half a million of his family." And to make the analogy perfect the murderous tramp ought to say in conclusion, "And now as I come to look at you, you are the same man I had the fight with. But I am willing to forgive and forget—so give me your keys and say no more about it. I can run this business better than you can."

Is not this the attitude of the men who control the Democratic party to-day?

But coming down to the practical question, let us see which of these parties has shown the greatest business capacity, and which offers the best guarantee for future successful service. For twenty years the Republicans have had the executive control of affairs, and are to a great extent responsible for the stewardship of this vast estate during that time. For some twenty years before that the Democrats controlled this country. 1860 was like 1880, a year of peace and prosperity. It is fair, therefore, to compare the general situation of the country in a financial and commercial point of view at the time when the Democrats left power, with the situation to-day after twenty years of Republican rule. If the Nation has not retrograded, the party in power has not prevented

its growth and health. If it has gone steadily forward, the party in power is entitled to some credit for having assisted its progress, and if it has made great and extraordinary advances, the party under whose rule those advances have been made, is entitled to the gratitude and the confidence of the people. What are the facts? The following table will show them:

	1900		Per cent
Population	100,000,000	107,800,000	
Wheat produced (bushels)	1,000,000,000	1,100,000,000	110
Wheat exported (bushels)	200,000,000	220,000,000	110
Corn produced (bushels)	2,000,000,000	2,100,000,000	105
Corn exported (bushels)	400,000,000	420,000,000	105
Wool produced (bales)	100,000,000	108,000,000	108
Cotton produced (bales)	100,000,000	108,000,000	108
Petroleum produced (barrels)	100,000,000	108,000,000	108
Iron produced (tons)	100,000,000	108,000,000	108
Rails produced (tons)	100,000,000	108,000,000	108
Hogs packed (carcasses)	100,000,000	108,000,000	108
Butter exported (casks)	100,000,000	108,000,000	108
Cheese exported (casks)	100,000,000	108,000,000	108
Merchandise imports	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,080,000,000	108
Merchandise exports	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,080,000,000	108
Gold and Silver produced	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,080,000,000	108
Gold and Silver exported	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,080,000,000	108
Gold and Silver imported	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,080,000,000	108

In one word, we never before produced so much iron, so much cotton, so much wheat, so much corn, so much petroleum, as during this past year. We never made so many manufactured articles; we never sold so many to other countries. We never bought so many from other countries; and yet so vast is the increase of our production, that we still have a heavy balance of trade in our favor. This is the prosperity that comes from wise and good national housekeeping, where we can afford to buy more than we ever did before, and not only pay for it with our own productions, but have a handsome sum in cash to the good beside. The Republican party has so managed the business of this country as to bring about not only a vast increase of production in every department of human activity, but an enormous increase in the permanent wealth of the nation. Under Democratic rule, it took all our specie, and something over, to meet the excess of our imports over our exports. Now, after twenty years of Republican administration, we keep all our vastly increased production of the precious metals, and have called on Europe beside for over \$15,000,000, in the eleven months preceding the 1st of June, to pay for the excess of goods which we have sent over the water. We are not only doing this vast volume of business, but we are making a profit, and laying up wealth at the rate of \$155,000,000 a year.

What does this prove? That not only has the Republican party administered the National interests of this country wisely and well, but that the ideas

and policy of the Democratic party were a positive hindrance and obstacle to prosperity. Any intelligent and candid man ought to see that this amazing development of the country under Republican rule is due in great part to the practice of Republican principles. It is due to the change in the policy of the Government in regard to the great matters of National concern, the tariff, internal taxation, the fostering care the Government has shown towards manufactures, the more honest and systematic administration of revenue affairs; and more than all this, is it due to the strong and irresistible force of the National prosperity and spirit, through the abolition of slavery, the maintenance of the financial honor of the country, and the final defeat of the spirit of disunion. Who can truthfully deny that all this is the work of the Republican party, and that at every step of this great work they had to stand for the people of ancient days, building up the National prosperity with one hand, and fighting the Democratic party with the other?

Before dropping this branch of the subject, let me leave with you two facts which are better than hours of argument. One is this: In 1860, after twenty years of Democratic rule, the Government found it hard to sell its six per cent. bonds for eighty-nine cents on the dollar. In 1880, after twenty years of Republican rule, the markets of the world catch up greedily our four per cent. bonds at a premium of nine per cent. What more brilliant feat of financial management is recorded in history than that? And

to show that it arises not from any lack of legitimate employment of money, the circular of Dun, Barlow & Co. for July 14 shows that the failures for the first half of 1880 are less than twenty-five hundred in number (2,497), with liabilities amounting to only \$33,000,000, figures relatively smaller than have been chronicled in the memories of business men. The moment resumption was accomplished, through the honor and the courage of this Republican administration, this astonishing improvement in the mercantile world began. The first half of 1879 showed a lessened loss by bad debts of fully one-half over the first half of 1878, the year before resumption. But to the astonishment of the most sanguine, the result this year shows that even that enormous ratio of improvement is fully sustained; for the liabilities of the last half year are only \$33,000,000, as compared with \$65,000,000 in 1879 and \$130,000,000 in 1878,

one quarter what they were in the year before resumption, when the Democratic party were moving heaven and earth to prevent the Republicans from accomplishing it, and prophesying wide-spread ruin if it was carried through.

Now in view of this showing which speaks to the understanding and to the interests of every working man and every business man in this country the question arises, Are we sick of all this prosperity? Do we wish to go back to the low wages, the small profits, the constant excess of debt over credit, the constant unfavorable balance of trade which we had under a Democratic administration? Have we had enough of

this liberal employment of labor, these profits of manufacturers in which the workingmen participate, of these comfortable homes, of these thriving farms? Do we wish to turn back this tide of immigration which is coming to our shores in greater numbers and of a better class than we have ever seen before? 177,000 immigrants landed at the port of New York during the six months ending with July; and are we ready to say to them, and to their friends who hope to follow, that we are contemplating a change of policy, which, the best you can say of it, will be doubtful in its effects upon public prosperity?

I know in the platforms and speeches of the Democrats they put forward a pretense of economy, of retrenchment and reform, but nowhere can they show you the facts and the figures to justify this pretense. It is true that they have been vigorously attempting for the last few years to nullify the laws by which our marshals are paid and to starve the courts into closing their doors, their reason for this being that their sensibilities have been outraged because the Republican marshals and their deputies do not seem disposed to allow earnest and sincere Democrats to vote more than once, and where they are not citizens, do not allow them to vote at all. Several of the United States marshals have been borrowing money at two per cent a month in some of our Western States and Territories to keep their courts open and to prevent the course of justice from being blocked by the mulish obstinacy of this Democratic Congress. The Marshal of Dakota has been paying interest at the rate of

eighteen per cent on the money with which he was running the courts. The marshal of Iowa has advanced ten thousand dollars and then in a fit of perfectly justifiable disgust, he asked that the courts might be adjourned. In Maine the marshal has lent the Government \$7,800 and the United States Circuit Judge in anger and shame says that he will not ask him to increase this amount by another cent. In New Hampshire the court has been closed, and in many other States the Government of the United States is placed in the degrading position of owing money to its own officers which Congress will not allow it to pay. For such economy as this they are entitled to all the credit which belongs to it, but so far as their claim is concerned of having reduced public expenditures it is as false and fraudulent as any other claim which they make upon the public favor.

During the last five years in which the Republicans controlled both branches of Congress the annual expenditures of the government were reduced from \$292,177,188 to \$258,459,797, a saving of about \$34,000,000 a year. In the new and ignorant zeal with which the Democrats came into power, working for a party cry rather than for the interests of the country, they slashed at the appropriations so as to make an apparent saving of some \$20,000,000. They made the most of this in their newspapers and on the stump, and perhaps people did not pay sufficient attention to the fact that this policy simply resulted in heavy deficiency bills. The crippled public service had to be taken care of in this clumsy and expensive

way. But as soon as they felt at home in their seats all pretense of economy in the administration of affairs was thrown aside. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1879, the appropriations swelled to \$266,547,000, for the next year they went to \$298,000,000, and for the current fiscal year their appropriations independent of any deficiency that may arise, amount to nearly \$292,000,000. That is the sort of Democratic economy which you have heard so much about. The annual expenditures of the Government have been increased by nearly \$40,000,000 since the Republican party controlled both branches of Congress. Every bureau of Congress has been filled with a hungry pack of the sons and cousins and dependents of Confederate Members of Congress, and the public money has been lavished upon them without shame or reserve. During these same last two years, in which the Republican party controlled the Government, they reduced the duties on imports to the amount of \$44,000,000. The Democrats while pretending to be in favor of free trade have made no reductions whatever. They have reduced the income from internal revenue, and this is perhaps the most characteristic thing they have done. If there is anything dear to the heart of a Southern statesman, it is whiskey and tobacco, and the only great financial measure which they have proposed and carried through the houses of Congress since they obtained control of them has been the depriving of the United States Government of \$14,000,000 a year which was formerly raised upon these two articles of prime Democratic consumption. This is the only

thing they have to offset the reduction made by the Republicans during their last five years of control of \$89,000,000 which was taken from almost every form of industry in the country. That is the sort of balance sheet which the two parties strike—the Democrats have reduced taxation to the amount of \$11,032,000, almost wholly in the interest of tobacco chewers and whiskey drinkers; the Republican party in five years reduced taxation in all to the amount of \$120,000,000 a year for the benefit of all the people.

In short the Democratic party has shown as much incapacity since it gained the majority in Congress, as it showed disloyalty and immorality while it was in the minority. It has been able to do literally nothing; it has been overwhelmed by the responsibilities of legislation. No session since the Government was formed, has so little to show in the way of results for the time expended, as the session which has just closed. Matters about which everybody is agreed could not get through Congress. Important public business failed because the time was needed for partisan harangues and personal explanations. If one honorable gentleman called another a liar it involved the loss of a day or two. They would hurry through a bill for spending millions of dollars in five minutes, and then wrangle all day to find out whether a motion to strike out two words was in order. Not only did they fail to accomplish the proper and necessary work for which they were sent there, but they also failed ignominiously in most of the attempted rascalities. With the best of good will, they could not steal Senator Kellogg's

seat, though they tried their worst for months. They arranged to put back Fitz John Porter into the army and to pay him \$75,000 for having fought at Bull Run on Democratic principles, but they got frightened out of it in the course of debate and dropped it till next winter. They perfected a conspiracy to rob a Minnesota district of its representative, employing for the purpose an ingenious combination of bribery, perjury and anonymous letters, and at the end of it all, Mr. Washburn remains in his seat, and every Democrat in the affair needs a bath of chloride of lime before he can appear in public again. Even their favorite scheme to steal the Presidency by concurrent resolution of the two houses they were unable to pass, from sheer lack of parliamentary knowledge. There has never been a more remarkable instance of a Providential dispensation—that this, the worst-intentioned Congress that ever sat in Washington should be also the most incapable; the most ready to do wrong, and the most impotent to follow its own evil impulses. One reason for this was perhaps that there could no very outrageous scheme could ever become a law, as it would require not only a majority of both houses, but also the concurrence of a grave, conscientious and intelligent gentleman at the other end of the avenue, a President who knows the right and dares maintain it. We know from what vicious legislation his timely vetoes have saved us—we will never know how much of good the fear of his vetoes has done.

It remains to consider briefly the attitude of the two parties as exhibited in their conventions and their candidates.

The nominations made on both sides this year are characteristic. The Republicans have nominated one of their foremost statesmen—a man who represents the history, the purpose, the principles of the party; who was a Republican before the party was named; who shared its earliest struggles; who, when the ordeal by battle was decreed, went into the army, where he represented on many a stricken field that advanced and ardent Republicanism which believed that the country was worth fighting for, and worth purifying; who, called from the field to the council, obeyed that summons also, and has ever since represented on the floor of Congress the better element of the people who believe in Nationality, in honesty and common sense in finance, and in the sacredness of the equal rights of the citizen. He has never had any opinions to conceal. No man has ever doubted his position. He has been tried in war and in peace. On every great point of controversy his record is open to the light. His life's work is a platform, parallel to that adopted at Chicago, and not differing from it by a word or a phrase.

Have the Democrats done anything like this? Did they select at Cincinnati one of their representative statesmen, a man whose name would mean something in the way of purpose or policy? Nothing of the kind. They knew well enough that a Democrat with a record could not be elected, and they went to

the regular army for a candidate who might be presented to the people as no Democrat at all. The secret motive underlying this choice I shall speak of in a moment. And I wish to observe at this time that I shall have nothing to say about the personal character of either candidate. They are both men who deserve and enjoy the love and esteem of their friends. Between now and November they will both be charged with plenty of petty little infamies, but nobody will believe a word of it all. The Democrats know that General Garfield is an able, patriotic and honest man, of great capacity, unsullied character and blameless life. The Republicans know that General Hancock is a gallant soldier and an accomplished gentleman. Both of them have private characters without stain; both have rendered signal services to the Republic. All the mud that can be thrown at them will defile only the hands that throw it.

But when we come to talk of them as candidates for the Presidency there is a vast difference between them, and we claim that the advantage is all on one side. We present to the people for their suffrages one of themselves. Although gifted with great powers of mind and elevation of character which have lifted him in place above the rest of us, General Garfield is still one of the people in feeling, in sympathy, as well as in origin. He was born in an obscure village of Ohio in the humblest surroundings. Not one of us ever battled more persistently in boyhood against adverse circumstances. From a child he was inured to labor. He ate his bread in the sweat of his brow.

Had it not been for the unconquerable soul within him he might have been to-day a day-laborer on your streets, for all that fortune has done for him. He thirsted for knowledge as a hart for the water-brooks. After laborious days he stole hours from sleep and spent them with his books. Almost before he ceased to be a mechanical laborer he had become a scholar. His merits marked him for a leader as soon as he was out of school. His fellow citizens sent him to represent them in the Ohio Senate—the youngest man in that body. When the war came the man of books left his study and took up arms; the young men who knew and honored him gathered about him; and he became at once Colonel of a noble regiment, the famous Forty-Second Ohio, and soon commanded a brigade. He served with not only credit but high distinction, and became a Major-General by sheer deserving; and then the people of his district needing him in Congress, elected him to that service where he was to win the highest honors attainable to the citizen. Not one step in all this upward progress had been won by luck or favor; and now he was to enter a field in which no favor was possible. The man who becomes the leader of his party on the floor of Congress must be, to all intents and purposes, the strongest man in his party; and when Mr. Blaine, that peerless, born chieftain, went to the Senate, there was no one to dispute for a moment the claim of General Garfield to the leadership of the House. Here he remained, fighting always on the right side—the side of honesty in finance; the side of loyalty in

National affairs; the side of human rights and of law and order; always, like Saul, a head and shoulders above his fellows, until the Republican party of Ohio unanimously promoted him to the Senate, and the Republican party of the Nation unanimously claimed him for President. It is one of the most striking instances in our political history of the steady legitimate growth and development of a citizen and a statesman. It is of men like this that the founders of the constitution expected and intended that Presidents should be made.

Now, when we come to consider the candidacy of General Hancock, we are at once met by an anomaly which needs explanation. What reason is there that a convention dominated by the solid South, full of men who had fought against us, should have chosen as their candidate a gentleman known only to the country as a brilliant and successful general in the war? It is not often that a party defeated in battle chooses for its standard bearer one of the men who have inflicted upon it the humiliation and disaster of defeat. It cannot merely be admiration of his soldierly qualities that induced these gentlemen at Cincinnati to nominate General Hancock with such enthusiasm, and which induced Mr. Wade Hampton to pledge to him the solid vote of a Republican State. If they wanted to vote for a Union soldier, they had a much better chance in 1868 and 1872. Some other reason must be looked for, and two have been given in different quarters since the nomination was made, which together may perhaps serve to ac-

count for it. The Democrats of the North insist that they did not nominate General Hancock as a soldier. They did not nominate him upon his war record. One may almost say that their claim is that they did not nominate General Hancock at all, that they nominated a Democratic politician of that name, who was sent by Andrew Johnson to New Orleans to execute the personal wishes of that eccentric statesman in the administration of the States of Louisiana and Texas, and to do what he could in obedience to the known prejudices of the President to nullify within his jurisdiction the acts of a Republican Congress. General Ord, General Canby and General Phil. Sheridan were not found to be available timber for work of this sort, but General Hancock immediately justified the sagacity of the President who chose him for this service by issuing a series of Democratic circulars under the guise of general orders, informing the rebel leaders of those States, that so far as he was concerned they might do just about as they pleased without fear of interference from the military authorities. This, of course, constitutes a strong claim upon the Democratic party of the North and upon the consolidated States of the South. But this, it appears, was not enough; and here I enter upon a subject which seems to me one of the gravest which have ever been submitted to the judgment of the American people at a Presidential election. It is a matter which involves the very structure of the Government, being the first instance in our history where the sword has presumed to usurp the functions of the legislature and the ju-

diciary. Shortly after the nominations were made at Cincinnati, it began to be rumored that the influences which were brought to bear upon the Southern delegates to solidify them for Hancock were of a very peculiar nature. It was asserted that Senator Eaton, of Connecticut, had given out that at the time the result of the last Presidential election was disputed and in doubt, and while the subject of the constitutional method of counting the electoral vote was under discussion in Congress, General Hancock wrote a letter to General Sherman, announcing that in case the President of the Senate should declare Mr. Hayes elected, and the House of Representatives should differ in opinion, he had made up his mind to disregard the announcement of the President of the Senate, and in case the House of Representatives should declare Mr. Tilden, President, he would take that declaration as his rule of conduct, and would place his sword and his command at the disposition of Mr. Tilden. This story seemed too incredible for belief. It outraged every tradition of the Republic. It was referred to for some days merely as a dark rumor. At last Mr. Atkins, a Democratic delegate to the Cincinnati Convention from Vermont, declared that the story was true, that it was greatly to the credit of General Hancock, and that it contributed powerfully to his nomination at Cincinnati. He gave as his authority for the story, General W. F. Smith. General Smith was immediately asked as to the truth of it, and he confirmed it in every particular, and unhesitatingly justified the conduct of General Han-

cock. Thus the story stands at present. General Hancock on being asked whether it is true or not declines to answer, and says if General Sherman has any such letter and wishes to publish it he can do so. General Sherman, on grounds of military etiquette and propriety, in regard to which we can have nothing to say, declines to publish any correspondence between himself and General Hancock on this subject. In that attitude of the case the matter must be taken as admitted and confessed. It is asserted and defended by the friends of General Hancock, and is not denied by himself. We have therefore a right to assume that the story is true.

I imagine the people of this part of the country will think twice before they vote to place in the office of chief magistrate of this Nation a man who can have been capable of such an act as this—an act which shows his utter incapacity to appreciate the very nature of Republican constitutional government. There are countries, we know, where it is the fashion for Major-Generals to declare who shall be and who have been elected President, but the fashion has never yet taken root in the soil of Anglo-Saxon communities, and we are not inclined to cultivate it. We keep Congress at great expense to make our laws, and courts to interpret them, and no Major-General, however handsome and gallant he may be, can have the function in this day and generation to decide contested points of constitutional law, at the invitation of a party caucus, or his own caprice. We have some dozen general officers in our army, and if they should

each take it into their heads next fall, following the example of General Hancock, to declare some different friend and fellow citizen elected, it might be a cause of inconvenience. General Hancock might not object, because he could declare his own election; but I am very sure that General Garfield and General Hayes and the general public would not approve.

But, after all, it is not General Hancock so much as his party we are discussing, and the whole case may be stated very briefly. The country cannot afford to run the risk of putting the Democratic party in power at this time. Of course it is unreasonable to expect and unwise to desire that one party should remain forever in possession of the Government. An occasional change is natural and salutary. Let the Democratic party follow once their better impulses and put their better elements in control, and we might see some advantage to both parties in their dividing the administration of affairs. But they should first purge themselves of complicity with lawlessness, and then present themselves with a clear and definite purpose and scheme of Government. No man living can tell to-day what they intend to do. In Maine they have consorted with the wildest inflationists; in Indiana they are running a National banker for Vice President and a fiat-money man for Governor. In Pennsylvania they pretend to be tariff men; in New York they pretend to be free-traders. In the South no man can be a candidate for office unless he served in the rebel army; in the North the favorite device is to sail this ship with a war figurehead and a

copperhead crew. Their success would mean simply change, and no man knows what the change would be.

I believe the American people have sufficient practical sense to let well enough alone. They are in the enjoyment of peace, freedom and prosperity, except in a few States of the South, and they do not wish to adopt the principles or practices of those States. Their finances are in admirable condition; they do not wish them disturbed and unsettled. Their civil service was never so honest and efficient as now; they do not wish it exposed to a rush of hungry and untried office-seekers. Their revenue system brings in a million a day; they do not want it tinkered by Congress. Their debt is being daily reduced; they do not want its reduction stopped or its ultimate payment thrown in doubt. Their Government is substantially in the hands of the men who have always been true to it; they do not wish to see it given over to the men who tried for years to destroy it.

There is the issue, and it cannot be avoided by such flimsy devices as the nomination of a Union soldier here and there. A candidate may easily be worse than his party; he cannot possibly be better. He must represent its record, not his own; he must carry out its policy, and not his own. Fortunately we have a man of the first rank as a patriot and statesman to carry our banner, but the banner itself is the sacred thing. General Garfield represents an unbroken tradition of loyalty and good Government. The gallant

face of General Hancock is a mask behind which the treasons, defeats and hostilities of a generation hide.

It is not the first time this game of decoy-soldier has been tried. In 1864, when the world was tremulous with the shock of the contest which was to determine whether this Nation should live or die, a Democratic convention met in Chicago, solemnly declared that the war was a failure, and nominated for President a Union soldier of far greater fame and popularity than the one they now offer us. The people, undazzled by his uniform, chose again for their ruler the plain citizen, in whose honest hands they felt the Nation was safe. Only last year the Democracy of Ohio nominated for Governor the handsomest and most eloquent soldier they could find, and pined on the ticket with him another excellent General, maimed on the field of battle. Everything was in General Ewing's favor except his principles and the party behind him; but the people took up a country merchant from Fosteria, and with him in seat General Ewing out of his cavalry boots.

We send this bit of history and its moral, with our kindest regards, to General Hancock on Governor's Island. We hope he will not resign. We can beat him easier if he returns his commission, and he deserves more than that for Goetz's sake.

In concluding, I have a word to say to the Young Men of this State—to those who are just beginning their civic life, who are just casting their first votes in a National election. Many of you are Democrats through some accident of association, without having

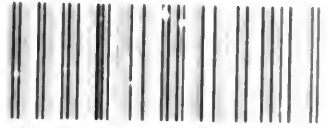
maturely weighed the history and the principles of the two parties. I ask you to look back for twenty years and see upon which side the continuing honor and glory lie. Which party elected Abraham Lincoln? Which party opposed, villified and finally killed him? Which party freed the slaves? Which party built the Pacific Railroad? Which saved the Union and the honor of the flag? Which sustained the financial integrity of the Nation, and made its credit the best in the world? If it be right to regard with pride the fulfillment of your duties as citizens, look around you and see who boasts that he voted for Breckenridge in 1860? Who brags that he cast his first vote for Vallandigham? What father tells his children that he labored to put Buchanan in the White House? On the one side is a record of glory and good repute which sheds something of lustre on the declining days of every man who fought that desperate battle against slavery and treason. On the other it is a shameful story of half-hearted loyalty or open rebellion, of ignorant or malicious opposition to light and knowledge, of blind and futile defiance to the stars in their courses, fighting for freedom and progress. Why should young men—for youth is generous and strong; it looks hopefully to the future; it holds its honest brow proudly to the broadening dawn—why should young men choose to cast in their lot with a discredited and soiled record, with a party which only asks of the present, the plunder of office; and of history, only oblivion. With what noble thought, with what high enterprise, has that party been associated in the

last quarter of a century? What purpose but that of blind obstruction has it served? I firmly believe it has no space left it for repentance. Its place is fixed in history. It forms the dark background upon which the deeds of valor and of wisdom of Republican worthies stand out in burning lines of light. It is written, and can never be forgotten, that in the long contest by which the Nation was saved, a race enfranchised, the National honor sustained and heightened, this Democratic party, as a party, despite the heroism and loyalty of individuals, stood by in sullen obstruction, refusing alike the labor and the glory.

This is no fit fellowship for brave and magnanimous youth. If you wish to cast a vote you will be proud of when you are old, if you wish to take part in the sympathies and the memories of a great era on the side of light and liberty and progress, you will never have a better chance than now. The National glory and the National welfare have been in Republican keeping for twenty years, with the results you see. In the ranks of that party are enlisted the greater portion of the virtue and intelligence of the land; while its counsels are hallowed by the traditions of the patriots and martyrs of the great war. Its past is luminous with the story of beneficent achievements; its future is as bright with promise as the radiance of the morning stars.



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